

Revision One: The start of the Cold War

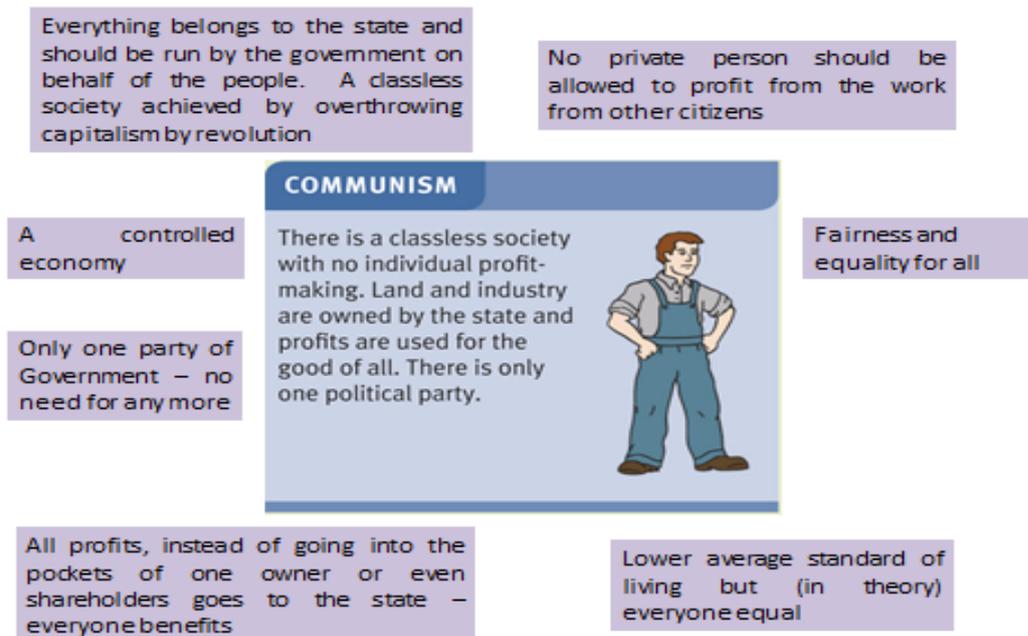
• REVIEW ON COLD WAR TERMS:

- A **hot war** is a conflict in which actual fighting takes place
- **Warm War** is where talks are still going on and there would always be a chance of a peaceful outcome but armies, navies etc. are being fully mobilised and war plans are being put into operation ready for the command to fight.
- A **cold war** is a war waged against an enemy by every means short of actual fighting.
- The expression was first used to describe the frosty atmosphere that developed between the Superpowers (USA &USSR) following the end of the Second World War.

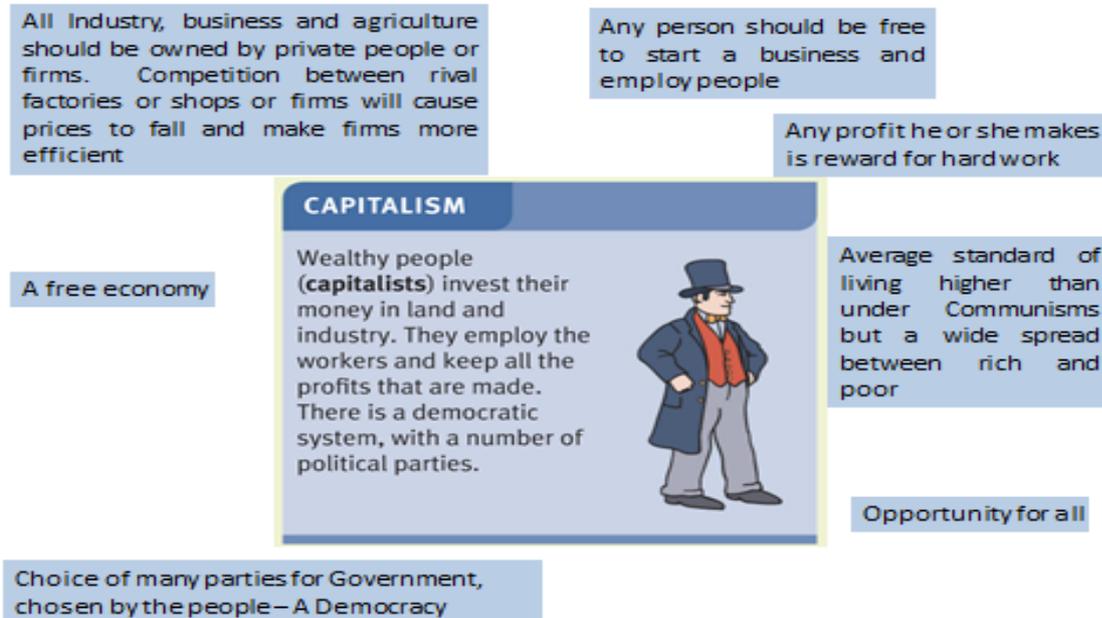
• SUPERPOWER STATUS:

FACTORS	USA	SOVIET UNION
Geographical Size (1980'S)	9 million sq acres	21 million sq acres
Population (1980'S)	226 million	262 million
Nuclear Weapons (1980's)	2 million	4.8 million
Economy (1984)	\$2100 billion GNP	\$1200 billion GNP

COMMUNISM V CAPITALISM:



Versus



America and Russia before the Second World War

Following the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917, the U.S. government was hostile to Soviet Russia. The United States extended its embargo of Germany to include Russia, and arranged a series of covert actions against Soviet Russia, including secretly funding its enemies.

Once Lenin had gained control after the October Revolution one of his first actions was the halting of Russian involvement in the First World War. This was significant because Germany could now reallocate most of its troops towards the Western front since the Eastern front no longer posed a substantial threat. The Russians and Germans signed a peace treaty called the **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** which was very harsh.

The American, British and French attempts at hindering the Bolsheviks were rarely militaristic but financial. They gave money to Bolshevik enemies and in particular the White Army and white armies (Russian groups opposed to the Bolsheviks). Aid was given mostly by means of supplies and food.

After the Russian Civil War, despite Lenin and the Bolshevik victory they were forever suspicious of the Western powers.

Stalin, who became the leader of the Soviet Union in 1928 after Lenin's death, was especially fearful of an invasion from the West. In fact he was convinced that Britain, France and the USA would ally with Nazi-Germany in the 1930's and encourage Hitler to invade. This may partly explain why he signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939. Britain, France and the USA disliked Stalin even more when he signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact as they feared, rightly, that Stalin wanted to seize part of Poland.

THE CONFERENCES:

WHO?

WHAT?

WHEN?

WHY?

Teheran

The Teheran Conference took place from 28 November to 1 December 1943. It was the first time the three leaders discussed seriously the post-war settlement.

Stalin was easily the victor of the negotiations. The British General Brooke was very impressed: 'never once did Stalin make any strategic error, nor did he ever fail to appreciate all the implications of a situation with a quick and unerring eye'. One of the first things he did was to persuade the US delegation to take up 'safer' rooms inside the compound of the Soviet delegation. Stalin pleased Roosevelt by offering to join the war in the Pacific when Hitler was defeated, and by allowing himself to be persuaded to join the United Nations.

Meanwhile, Stalin baited Churchill. He teased and niggled him all the time. In one conversation, Stalin suggested that 50,000 German army officers should be shot. When the Americans appeared to agree, Churchill walked out in fury. Roosevelt believed he had a special personal relationship with Stalin – 'he hates the guts of all your top people', he told Churchill. So at Yalta, Roosevelt almost ignored Churchill, and supported Stalin.

Moscow

On 9-19 October 1944, Churchill went to Moscow to meet Stalin face-to-face to try to sort out their differences.

This meeting is famous for the so-called 'percentages agreement', where Churchill suggested that Britain and Russia agree 'spheres of influence' in the different countries of eastern Europe. He scribbled some figures down on a piece of paper (Romania 90-10, Greece 10-90, Yugoslavia and Hungary 50-50 etc.) and passed it to Stalin. 'He took his big blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set down', remember Churchill. Churchill came away thinking that he had the measure of Stalin, but he had just signed away eastern Europe to Soviet domination.

Yalta (Feb 1945)

Held during the war, on the surface, the Yalta conference seemed successful. The Allies agreed a [Protocol of Proceedings](#) to:

- divide Germany into four 'zones', which Britain, France, the USA and the USSR would occupy after the war.
- bring Nazi war-criminals to trial.
- set up a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity 'pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible'.
- help the freed peoples of Europe set up democratic and self-governing countries by helping them to (a) maintain law and order; (b) carry out emergency relief measures; (c) set up governments; and (d) hold elections (this was called the 'Declaration of Liberated Europe').
- set up a commission to look into reparations.

At Yalta, the negotiations went very much in Stalin's favour, but this was because Roosevelt wanted Russian help in the Pacific, and was prepared to agree to almost anything as long as Stalin agreed to go to war with Japan. Therefore, Stalin promised that:

- Russia would join the war in the Pacific, in return for occupation zones in North Korea and Manchuria.
- Russia also agreed to join the United Nations.

Although the Conference appeared successful, however, behind the scenes, tension was growing, particularly about reparations, and about Poland.

After the conference, Churchill wrote to Roosevelt that 'The Soviet Union has become a danger to the free world.' And on their return home both he and Roosevelt were criticised for giving away too much to the Soviets:



This cartoon by the American cartoonist Paul Plaschke appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*, shortly after the Yalta Conference. It shows Stalin playing poker with Churchill and Roosevelt.

Potsdam (July 1945)

At Potsdam, [the Allies met](#) after the surrender of Germany (in May 1945) to finalise the principals of the post-war peace – Potsdam was the Versailles of World War Three factors meant that the Potsdam Conference was not successful:

Relations between the superpowers had worsened considerably since Yalta. In March 1945, Stalin had invited the non-Communist Polish leaders to meet him, and arrested them. Things had got so bad that, in May 1945, the British Joint Planning Group had drawn up plans for 'Operation Unthinkable' - a 'total war ... to impose our will upon Russia'.

Meanwhile, Roosevelt had died, and America had a new president, Truman, who was inclined to 'get tough' with the Russians.

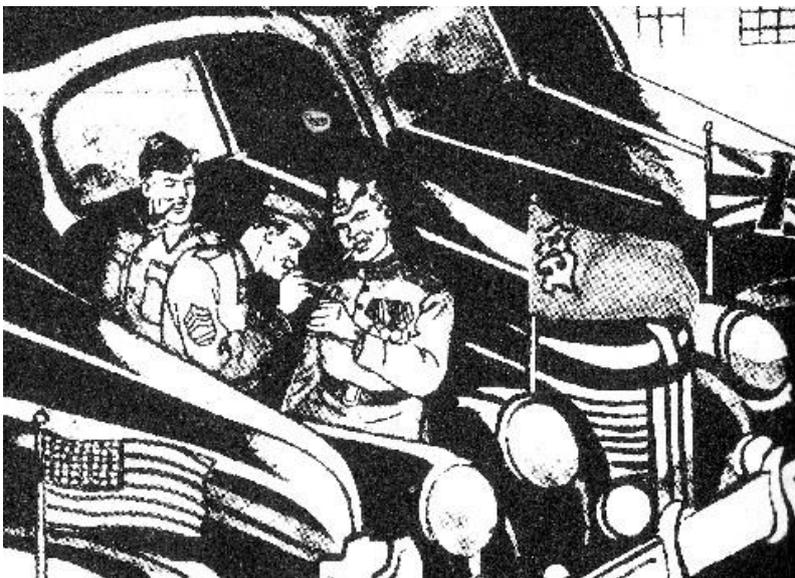
Also, soon after he had arrived at the Conference, Truman learned (on 21 July) that America had tested the first atomic bomb. It gave the Americans a huge military advantage over everyone else. It also meant that Truman didn't need Stalin's help in Japan. Instead, Truman's main aim at the conference was to find out from Stalin what date the Russians intended to enter the war in the Pacific - something which (unlike Roosevelt) he did NOT want. So, at Potsdam, the arguments came out into the open.

The Conference agreed the following [Protocols](#):

- to set up the four 'zones of occupation' in Germany. The Nazi Party, government and laws were to be destroyed, and 'German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas.
- to bring Nazi war-criminals to trial.
- to recognize the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and hold 'free and unfettered elections as soon as possible'.
- Russia was allowed to take reparations from the Soviet Zone, and also 10% of the industrial equipment of the western zones as reparations. America and Britain could take reparations from their zones if they wished.

President Truman [presented it as a 'compromise'](#), but in fact the Allies had disagreed openly about:

1. the details of how to divide Germany.
2. the size of reparations Germany ought to pay.
3. Russian influence over the countries of eastern Europe.



This cartoon was published in the Soviet magazine *Krokodil* on 30 July 1945, three days before the end of the Potsdam Conference.

Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe



Communist countries are shown in green.

Twenty million Russians died during the Second World War, so Stalin said he wanted a **buffer zone** of friendly states around Russia to make sure that Russia could never be invaded again. Stalin was planning the takeover of Eastern Europe. During the war, Communists from the occupied countries of Eastern Europe escaped to Moscow and set up Communist governments in exile there. As the **Red Army** drove the Nazis back, it occupied large areas of Eastern Europe and Churchill in the so-called **percentages agreement** - agreed that Eastern Europe could be a Soviet "sphere of influence". He was proved correct.

Communism in Eastern Europe 1945-1948

Country	Date	Method
Albania	1945	The Communists immediately took power.
Bulgaria	1945	In the 1945 elections, a Communist-led coalition was elected, but the Communists executed the non-Communists.
East Germany	1945	East Germany was the Soviet zone of Germany. In 1949, they set up a Communist-controlled state called the German Democratic Republic.
Romania	1947	In the 1945 elections, a Communist-led coalition was elected to power. The Communists gradually took over and in 1947 they abolished the monarchy.
Poland	1947	Stalin had promised to set up a joint Communist/non-Communist government at Yalta, but then he invited 16 non-Communist leaders to Moscow and arrested them. Thousands of non-Communists were arrested, and the Communists won the 1947 election.
Hungary	1947	The non-communists won the 1945 elections with Zoltan Tildy as president. However, the Communists' leader, Rakosi, took control of the secret police (the AVO), and executed and arrested his opponents. Tildy was forced to resign and Cardinal Mindzenty, head of the Catholic Church, was imprisoned. By 1948, Rakosi had complete control of

Country	Date	Method
		Hungary.
Czechoslovakia	1948	A coalition government was set up and led by the non-Communist Benes. However, the Communists' leader Gottwald made sure they controlled the radio, the army and the police. Gottwald became prime minister and set up a secret police force. Non-Communists were arrested. In 1948, Communist workers went on strike, the non-Communist minister Masaryk committed suicide and Gottwald took over the government.

In the countries that the Red Army "**liberated**", communist-dominated governments took power. The Communists made sure that they controlled the army, set up a secret police force, and began to arrest their opponents. Non-Communists were gradually beaten, murdered, executed and terrified out of power. By 1949, **all** the governments of Eastern Europe, except Yugoslavia, were hard line Stalinist regimes.

In 1946, in a speech at Fulton in the USA, Churchill declared that an **Iron Curtain** had come down across Europe, and that Soviet power was growing and had to be stopped. Stalin called Churchill's speech a "declaration of war". In 1947, Stalin set up **Comintern** - an alliance of Communist countries designed to make sure they obeyed Soviet rule.



In this American cartoon from 1946, the thief labelled 'Russia' is caught stealing a bag labelled 'territorial grabs'. He is being helped by Stalin, who is dressed like a policeman and holding a truncheon. Policeman Truman, from the 'World League Police Station' is too late to stop him.

HOW DID USA REACT?

CONTAINMENT:

Definition: strategic foreign policy followed by the United States in the late 1940s and the early 1950s in order to check the expansionist policy of the Soviet Union.

The Catalyst – Greece 1947

Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania all ended up with communist governments and had leaders who looked to Moscow for advice as opposed to the people of the country they governed. The only oddity for Stalin was Yugoslavia led by Tito. He was communist but Tito was not prepared to simply see the Nazis replaced by the influence of Soviet communists.

Then in 1946 communists in Greece attempted a takeover. They were in the minority in the country but received moral support from the USSR in their efforts to overthrow the monarchy and actual material support from Yugoslavia.

Britain had the most influence in Greece and had 40,000 troops there and supported the royalist government with money to fight the communists. By 1947 Britain could not afford this commitment and looked to the US to step in.

Greece was in a highly sensitive position militarily and Truman, while not wanting to involve America in any military action, wanted to give the Greek government as much support as he could during the Greek Civil War.

The Truman Doctrine

In March 1947, Truman told the American Congress it was America's job to stop communism growing any stronger. This was called the **Truman Doctrine**. It is often said that Truman advocated **containment** (stopping the Soviet getting any more powerful), but Truman did not use this word and many Americans spoke of "**rolling back**" communism.

Truman stated that it would be "the policy of the United States to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." In response Congress agreed to send \$400 million in military and economic aid to support the government of Greece. There was a shared view that if Greece fell to the communists, Turkey would be next and that the Soviet Union was slowly creeping towards the oil fields of the [Middle East](#). However, there was no support to send US military forces into Greece. The Truman Doctrine was to set the tone for US foreign policy throughout the world post-March 1947. Greece and Turkey became members of [NATO](#) – a clear message to Moscow that an attack on either would be deemed by other members of NATO to be an attack on all of them.

The Marshall Plan

Soon after the Truman Doctrine promised to 'support free peoples' (March 1947), General George Marshall went to Europe. He was shocked by what he saw. Europe was ruined and – after the coldest winter in record – starving. Marshall told Truman that all Europe would turn Communist unless the US helped.

Marshall announced his Plan to students at Harvard University on 5th June 1947. He promised that America would do 'whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world.'

He challenged the countries of Europe to produce a plan, which the US would fund. By 12 July, the British politician Ernest Bevin (who called the Plan 'a lifeline to sinking men') had organised a meeting of European nations in Paris, which asked for \$22 billion of aid. Stalin forbade Cominform countries to take part. Truman asked Congress for \$17 bn, and Congress (after the collapse of Czechoslovakia, March 1948) gave \$13 bn.

Marshall Aid took the form of fuel, raw materials, goods, loans and food, machinery and advisers. It jump-started rapid European economic growth, and stopped the spread of Communism. Most (70 per cent) of the money was used to buy commodities from US suppliers: \$3.5 billion was spent on raw materials; \$3.2 billion on food, feed and fertiliser; \$1.9 billion on machinery and vehicles; and \$1.6 billion on fuel.

Marshall Aid had a huge effect on Europe; the years 1948-1952 were a time of massive economic growth. It also stopped the spread of Communism – one of the hungry teenage boys in Germany who was given soup by American trucks driving onto his schoolyard was Helmut Kohl: who grew up to be the first Chancellor of a free and unified Germany.

BERLIN BLOCKADE: CAUSE AND EFFECT

WHY?

Cold War was just getting started (e.g. Czechoslovakia, March 1948) and at this stage neither side was sure what the others were up to.

Aims - Stalin wanted to destroy Germany – Britain and the USA wanted to rebuild Germany.

Bizonia - The Russians were taking German machinery back to the USSR. In January 1947, Britain and the USA joined their two zones together to try to get German industry going. They called the new zone Bi-zonia ('two zones').

American Aid - Congress voted for Marshall Aid on 31 March 1948. Immediately, the Russians started searching all road and rail traffic into Berlin. **New Currency** - On 1 June, America and France announced that they wanted to create the new country of West Germany; and on 23 June they introduced a new currency into 'Bizonia' and western Berlin. The next day the Russians stopped all road and rail traffic into Berlin.

New Country - In June 1948, Britain, France and America united their zones into a new country, West Germany.

WHAT?

The American Army wanted to fight its way into Berlin – that would have caused a war. Instead, Truman decided to supply Berlin by air. He wanted to stand up against the Soviets but couldn't afford war in 1948. The only way in to Berlin was by air so with Britain and France's help they decided to airlift supplies in. Would the Soviet Union shoot down the planes? There was an anxious few days as everyone waited to see what USSR would do. The airlift began on 28th June 1948 and lasted 10 months. Planes flew night and day and landed at 90 second intervals. The pilots had a dangerous job as Soviet planes flew across the air corridors and weather balloons were placed in awkward positions. As a warning to the Soviet Union, Truman ordered B-29 bombers, capable of carrying atom bombs, to be sent to Britain.

Airlift Facts

- The blockade lasted 318 days (11 months).
- In the winter of 1948–49 Berliners lived on dried potatoes, powdered eggs and cans of meat. They had four hours of electricity a day.
- The airlift was codenamed '**Operation Vittles**'; the first flight was on 26 June 1948.
- The Soviet authorities offered to provide West Berlin with essential supplies - this offer was rejected.
- 275,000 flights carried in 1½ million tons of supplies. A plane landed every 3 mins.
- On 16 April 1949, 1400 flights brought in 13,000 tons of supplies in one day – Berlin only needed 6,000 tons a day to survive.
- Some pilots dropped chocolate and sweets.
- The airlift continued until 30 September 1949, in order to build up a reserve of supplies.
- The USA stationed B-29 bombers (which could carry an atomic bomb) in Britain. The American airmen were regarded as heroes
- The situation was bad at first, but things got better as the blockade went on. On 12 May 1949, Stalin re-opened the borders.

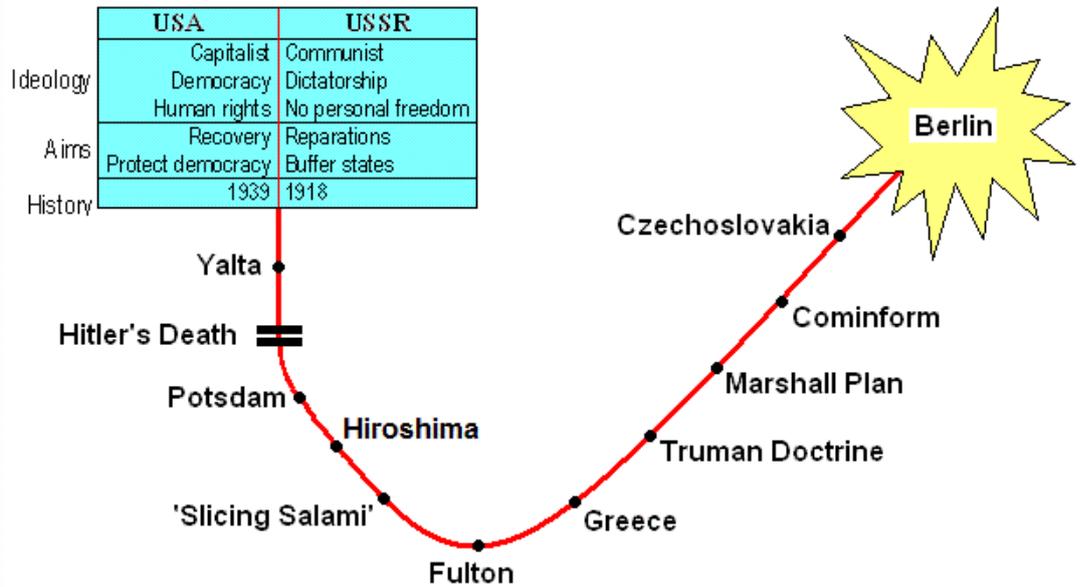
CONSEQUENCES

The Soviet Union saw the 1948 Berlin crisis as an attempt to undermine Soviet influence in eastern Germany; Stalin said he was defending the east German economy against the new currency, which was ruining it. The western powers said Stalin was trying to force them out of Berlin.

1. **The Cold War** got worse and the Berlin crisis almost started an all-out war.
2. **East and West Germany** - Germany split up. In May 1949, America, Britain and France united their zones into the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). In October 1949, Stalin set up the German Democratic Republic (East Germany).
3. **NATO and the Warsaw Pact** - In 1949, the western Allies set up **NATO** (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) as a defensive alliance against Russia. NATO countries surrounded Russia; in 1955, the Soviet Union set up the Warsaw Pact – an alliance of Communist states.

4. **Arms Race** - After Berlin, the USA and the USSR realised that they were in a competition for world domination. They began to build up their armies and weapons.

From Hot War to Cold War



5.

QUESTIONS: CARTOON



What is the message of the cartoon?

REMEMBER:
MESSAGE
3 REFERENCE POINTS
CONTEXTUAL KNOWLEDGE
FINAL SENTENCE ON MOTIVE

This cartoon by the American cartoonist Paul Plaschke appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*, shortly after the Yalta Conference. It shows Stalin playing poker with Churchill and Roosevelt.



What is the message of the cartoon?

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In this American cartoon from 1946, the thief labelled 'Russia' is caught stealing a bag labelled 'territorial grabs'. He is being helped by Stalin, who is dressed like a policeman and holding a truncheon. Policeman Truman, from the 'World League Police Station' is too late to stop him.

8 MARK EXPLAIN WHY (3 DEVELOPED POINTS FOCUSING ON STRETCHING THE WHY.)

- Explain why Marshall aid was offered to countries in Eastern Europe
- Explain why the USA was hostile to the Soviet Union between 1945-1949

4 MARKERS:

- What is meant by the term Cold War?
- What was the Iron Curtain?
- Describe what happened at the Potsdam Conference?

6 MARK EXPLAIN WHY (2 DEVELOPED POINTS FOCUSING ON STRETCHING THE WHY.)

- Explain why Berlin was a cause of tension between east and west between 1945-1949
- Explain the reasons for the Berlin airlift(6)

10 MARKER (YES BUT SO.)

- How far was the USA responsible for the start of the Cold War (10)
- How successful was the west in containing Communism up to 1949.

Revision Two: Cuban Missile Crisis

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION:

In 1959 Batista was overthrown by Fidel Castro. Castro began to establish Cuba as a communist state. Castro ejected all US business and investment. In retaliation the US refused to buy Cuba's biggest export-sugar. In 1960 Castro signed a treaty with the Soviet Union in which Cuban sugar would be swapped for Soviet machinery and economic aid. Castro was now closely linked to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union now had a new leader-Khrushchev-who was keen to challenge and out manoeuvre the new American President John F Kennedy. The question was how would Kennedy react to this direct challenge?

CAUSES



- **America's Actions**
- Eisenhower's administration had set a precedent for overthrowing Communist regimes abroad by covert operations (Eg: Iran and Guatemala)
- One of Eisenhower's last actions in office was to sever diplomatic relations with Cuba.
- JFK had criticised the Eisenhower administration for 'losing Cuba'. He was determined to take a firmer line.
- US forces carried out operations in the Caribbean in early 1962 to 'practice' overthrowing an imaginary dictator. The operation was (subtly) known as 'Ortsac'!
- Eisenhower had approved plans for a group of anti-Castro Cuban exiles, trained by the CIA, to invade Cuba.
- In September 1960, the CIA had dropped supplies to anti-Castro rebels in the south of Cuba.
- JFK approved the invasion of Cuba by CIA-trained anti-Castro Cuban exiles, in what would become known as the 'Bay of Pigs' invasion. The 'Bay of Pigs' invasion of Cuba was a complete failure, partly due to a lack of air support from the US army and American overestimation of anti-Castro feeling in Cuba.

- After the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, the CIA continued to try to overthrow Castro by covert means (eg organising counter-revolutionary movements) – known as Operation Mongoose.
- Kennedy kept an existing embargo on all Cuban imports, and had Cuba expelled from OAS (Organisation of American States) in Feb 1962
- On October 16th, JFK was presented with photographic evidence that there were nuclear missiles in Cuba capable of striking the USA.
- Kennedy was a relatively young and inexperienced president, and was determined to show Khrushchev 'who he is dealing with.'
- American attempts to contain communism in Indochina were going badly, with advances being made by communist insurgents in Laos and Vietnam.
- Prior to Castro's revolution, Cuba had been a 'playground' for rich Americans, and most Cuban assets were owned by US corporations. Traditionally, the USA had purchased Cuba's sugar crop. The selling of sugar to the USSR was interpreted as a deliberate snub.
- **Castro's Actions**
- Although not a communist in 1959, Castro moved further left in the years 1961-61.
- Castro nationalised Cuba's oil industry and other US assets. 380 US companies had property seized.
- Castro made increasingly provocative anti-American speeches, criticising 'Yankee imperialism' in South America.
- **The actions of the Soviet Union.**
- Khrushchev was an unpredictable Cold War leader, who could be conciliatory one moment then aggressive the next.
- Cuba signed a trade deal with the USSR in Feb 1960, Russia gave Cuba \$100 million in credit and agreed to buy 5 million tonnes of Cuban sugar
- In January 1961, Khrushchev praised Castro and accepted Cuba as a full member of the Soviet bloc.
- Believing that a US invasion of Cuba was inevitable, Castro turned to Moscow for help. In July 1960, the USSR announced they would use nuclear weapons if the USA
- After a request from Castro in spring 1962, the USSR sent more military supplies to Cuba, including tanks, troops and MRBMs (Medium Range Ballistic Missiles)
- By May 1962, there were 40,000 Soviet troops stationed in Cuba.

THE EVENT

The Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 was a direct and dangerous confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War and was the moment when the two superpowers came closest to nuclear conflict. The crisis was unique in a number of ways, featuring calculations and miscalculations as well as direct and secret communications and miscommunications between the two sides. The dramatic crisis was also characterized by the fact that it was primarily played

out at the White House and the Kremlin level with relatively little input from the respective bureaucracies typically involved in the foreign policy process.

After the failed U.S. attempt to overthrow the Castro regime in Cuba with the Bay of Pigs invasion, and while the Kennedy administration planned Operation Mongoose, in July 1962 Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev reached a secret agreement with Cuban premier Fidel Castro to place Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba to deter any future invasion attempt. Construction of several missile sites began in the late summer, but U.S. intelligence discovered evidence of a general Soviet arms build-up on Cuba. On October 14 a U.S. U-2 aircraft took several pictures clearly showing sites for medium-range and intermediate-range ballistic nuclear missiles (MRBMs and IRBMs) under construction in Cuba. These images were processed and presented to the White House the next day, thus precipitating the onset of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Kennedy summoned his closest advisers to consider options and direct a course of action for the United States that would resolve the crisis. Some advisers—including all the Joint Chiefs of Staff—argued for an air strike to destroy the missiles, followed by a U.S. invasion of Cuba; others favored stern warnings to Cuba and the Soviet Union. Kennedy had several options:

1	He could do nothing and ignore the missiles. This would have been political suicide and if the Russians had seen this as weakness on his part, they could have taken advantage of it.
2	He could order a full scale military invasion of Cuba. This could lead to heavy US casualties and that would be politically damaging. It would almost certainly involve Russian casualties which could escalate the problem. The American chiefs-of-staff were not convinced that it would be successful either especially as the offending missile bases were in remote areas and most were well inland.
3	He could order an air strike against the missile bases only. The problem again would be Russian casualties and the Air Force was not sure it could deliver pin-point bombing raids on what were relatively small targets.
4	He could call on the Russians to remove the missiles explaining the damage their presence was doing to Russian/American relations. However, the Russians were highly unlikely to listen to a 'polite' request especially as they even refused to recognise the existence of the missiles at the United Nations emergency meeting on the matter.
5	He could put a naval blockade around the island - quarantine it - and not allow any more Russian ships to enter Cuba. This would still leave missiles on Cuba but the negotiations would continue in the background while publically Kennedy would be seen to be doing something specific.

OCTOBER 22ND: The President decided upon a middle course. He ordered a naval “quarantine” of Cuba. The use of “quarantine” legally distinguished this action from a blockade, which assumed a state of war existed; the use of “quarantine” instead of “blockade” also enabled the United States to receive the support of the Organization of American States.

OCTOBER 22ND: That same day, Kennedy sent a letter to Khrushchev declaring that the United States would not permit offensive weapons to be delivered to Cuba, and demanded that the Soviets dismantle the missile bases already under construction or completed, and return all offensive weapons to the U.S.S.R. The letter was the first in a series of direct and indirect communications between the White House and the Kremlin throughout the remainder of the crisis.

OCTOBER 22ND: The President also went on national television that evening to inform the public of the developments in Cuba, his decision to initiate and enforce a “quarantine,” and the potential global consequences if the crisis continued to escalate. The tone of the President’s remarks were stern, and the message unmistakable and evocative of the Monroe Doctrine: “It shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.” The Joint Chiefs of Staff announced a military readiness status of DEFCON 3 as U.S. naval forces began implementation of the quarantine and plans accelerated for a military strike on Cuba.

OCTOBER 24: Khrushchev responded to Kennedy’s message with a statement that the U.S. “blockade” was an “act of aggression” and that Soviet ships bound for Cuba would be ordered to proceed. Nevertheless, during October 24 and 25, some ships turned back from the quarantine line; others were stopped by U.S. naval forces, but they contained no offensive weapons and so were allowed to proceed. Meanwhile, U.S. reconnaissance flights over Cuba indicated the Soviet missile sites were nearing operational readiness. With no apparent end to the crisis in sight, U.S. forces were placed at DEFCON 2—meaning war involving the Strategic Air Command was imminent.

October 26: Kennedy told his advisors it appeared that only a U.S. attack on Cuba would remove the missiles, but he insisted on giving the diplomatic channel a little more time. The crisis had reached a virtual stalemate.

October 26: The crisis took a dramatic turn. ABC News correspondent John Scali reported to the White House that he had been approached by a Soviet

agent suggesting that an agreement could be reached in which the Soviets would remove their missiles from Cuba if the United States promised not to invade the island.

October 26: While White House staff scrambled to assess the validity of this “back channel” offer, Khrushchev sent Kennedy a message the evening of October 26, which meant it was sent in the middle of the night Moscow time. It was a long, emotional message that raised the specter of nuclear holocaust, and presented a proposed resolution that remarkably resembled what Scali reported earlier that day. “If there is no intention,” he said, “to doom the world to the catastrophe of thermonuclear war, then let us not only relax the forces pulling on the ends of the rope, let us take measures to untie that knot. We are ready for this.” Although U.S. experts were convinced the message from Khrushchev was authentic, hope for a resolution was short-lived.

October 27: Khrushchev sent another message indicating that any proposed deal must include the removal of U.S. Jupiter missiles from Turkey. That same day a U.S. U-2 reconnaissance jet was shot down over Cuba. Kennedy and his advisors prepared for an attack on Cuba within days as they searched for any remaining diplomatic resolution. It was determined that Kennedy would ignore the second Khrushchev message and respond to the first one. That night, Kennedy set forth in his message to the Soviet leader proposed steps for the removal of Soviet missiles from Cuba under supervision of the United Nations, and a guarantee that the United States would not attack Cuba.

It was a risky move to ignore the second Khrushchev message. Attorney General Robert Kennedy then met secretly with Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Anatoly Dobrynin, and indicated that the United States was planning to remove the Jupiter missiles from Turkey anyway, and that it would do so soon, but this could not be part of any public resolution of the missile crisis.

October 28: The next morning Khrushchev issued a public statement that Soviet missiles would be dismantled and removed from Cuba.

The crisis was over but the naval quarantine continued until the Soviets agreed to remove their IL-28 bombers from Cuba and, on November 20, 1962, the United States ended its quarantine. U.S. Jupiter missiles were removed from Turkey in April 1963.

Consequences

The Cuban missile crisis stands as a singular event during the Cold War and strengthened Kennedy’s image domestically and internationally. It also may have helped mitigate negative world opinion regarding the failed Bay of Pigs invasion. Two other important results of the crisis came in unique forms.

First, despite the flurry of direct and indirect communications between the White House and the Kremlin—perhaps because of it—Kennedy and Khrushchev, and their advisers, struggled throughout the crisis to clearly understand each others' true intentions, while the world hung on the brink of possible nuclear war. In an effort to prevent this from happening again, a direct telephone link between the White House and the Kremlin was established; it became known as the "Hotline."

Second, having approached the brink of nuclear conflict, both superpowers began to reconsider the nuclear arms race and took the first steps in agreeing to a nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

OUTCOME:

The USA

- Kennedy was immediately seen by world opinion as the 'victor' in the Cuban missile crisis. He had stood up to the Soviets and they had backed down.
- Kennedy had also successfully stood up to some of his hard-line military advisers who wanted to invade Cuba. The crisis showed how dangerous their ideas were.

BUT

- Kennedy also agreed in secret not to invade Cuba and, more controversially, to remove NATO missiles from Turkey at a later date.
- Castro remained in power in Cuba and so the Communist threat remained.
- Kennedy had made plenty of enemies. He was now distrusted by some key generals, who thought he was not really prepared to fight the spread of Communism. He was hated by Cuban exiles in the USA since Castro had survived the Bay of Pigs and the missile crisis.

The USSR

- Khrushchev had prevented a US invasion of Cuba and had a guarantee that no further invasion attempts would take place.
- In public, he could claim to have acted reasonably and as a peacemaker by agreeing to remove the missiles from Cuba.
- Khrushchev had US agreement that NATO missiles in Turkey would also be removed, although this was a secret agreement and unknown at the time.

BUT

- The USSR was shown to have lied to the UN and the world about nuclear missiles in Cuba.
- Khrushchev had been forced to back down in the face of US pressure. Soviet missiles were removed and many in the USSR felt humiliated.
- Khrushchev was unable to make public his secret agreements with the USA.
- In 1964, Khrushchev was replaced as Soviet leader. Historians consider the outcome of the missile crisis contributed to his downfall.

Cuba

- Castro remained in power and the USA agreed not to attempt further invasions.
- Cuba remained heavily armed, although not with nuclear weapons, and became a focus for other Communists in South America.
- Castro maintained his control of former US industries.

BUT

- Cuba remained poor and isolated in the western hemisphere, unable to trade with the USA and therefore dependent on the USSR for supplies and equipment.

QUESTIONS:

SOURCE A



OVER THE GARDEN WALL

A cartoon published in Britain, 17th October 1962. President Kennedy is on the left. Khrushchev is on the right. Pruning means cutting back.

5

1 (a) Study Source A.

What is the message of this cartoon? Use details of the cartoon and your knowledge to explain your answer. [7]

(b) Explain why the USA was concerned about events in Cuba between 1959 and 1961. [8]

SOURCE A



"INTOLERABLE HAVING YOUR ROCKETS ON MY DOORSTEP!"

A British cartoon published in October 1962. President Kennedy is on the left, Khrushchev is on the right.

(a) Study Source A.

What is the cartoonist's message? Use details of the cartoon and your knowledge to explain your answer. [7]

(b) Explain why Kennedy was successful in dealing with the Cuban Missile Crisis. [8]

3 (a) Describe how Cuba changed under Castro. [4]

(b) Explain Kennedy's options after missile sites were discovered in Cuba. [6]

(c) 'The USA was more responsible for causing the Cuban Missile Crisis than the USSR.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10]

- 2 (a) Describe relations between Cuba and the USA between 1959 and the Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961. [4]
- (b) Explain why the USA was concerned about Soviet missiles in Cuba. [6]
-  (c) 'Khrushchev handled the Cuban Missile Crisis very well.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10]

 Spelling, punctuation and grammar [6]

How did USA get involved?

French Indochina	<p>In 1939 five French colonies and protectorates made up French Indochina. These had been run for the benefit of France since 1887. The indigenous population were treated as second class citizens and prevented from joining trade unions or political parties. Against these rules, a remarkable nationalist leader, Ho Chi Minh, emerged and founded the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">•
Japanese Occupation 1940-1945	<p>In September 1940 the region was conquered by the Japanese. They united Annam, Cochinchina and Tonkin into one region (Vietnam) and treated the people savagely. As a result a strong anti Japanese resistance movement (the Vietminh) came together under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh and engaged in guerrilla warfare against the occupying army.</p>
War with the French 1945-1954	<p>The Japanese surrendered to the USA on 15 August 1945. Immediately, Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnamese independence and united all the nationalist groups in his government. However, the French had other ideas and in December attempted to return Vietnam to colonial rule. In 1947 the French declared Bao Dai, former Emperor of Annam and one time political adviser to Ho, to be President. They hoped to win the Vietnamese away from supporting Ho. However, Bao was also Vietnamese nationalist, and he refused to carry out French policy.</p> <p>Nine years of war followed between the Vietminh and the French. Ho was supported by China (which in 1949 became a communist state under the leadership of Mao Zedong). The French in turn got substantial aid from the USA who saw the Vietminh as puppets of Mao and the Chinese communists. America poured \$500 million a year into the French war effort. Despite this the French struggled. They were able to capture towns and hold them by leaving large occupying forces, but they failed to conquer the countryside and mountains where the Vietminh were aided by sympathetic peasants. By 1953 The French had lost 12,000 soldiers, 12,000 members of their Foreign Legion and 14,000 Indochinese soldiers. The war was costing 600 billion francs a year – more than the value of all the French investments in Vietnam.</p>
Dien Bien Phu	<p>General Navarre (the new French commander) decided to change tactics and attempt to force the Vietminh under the command of Vo Nguyen Giap into a pitched battle. In November 1953 French paratroopers set up a fortified garrison in the valley of Dien Bien Phu. This was deep inside Vietminh</p>

	<p>territory. Navarre supplied his garrison by air from Hanoi using an old Japanese landing strip. Meanwhile General Giap's forces captured the surrounding hills and were supplied by tens of thousands of labourers, many of them women and children, carrying material hundreds of miles through the jungle.</p> <p>The battle started in March 1954. Vietminh guerilla forces captured French outposts. The French airforce failed to destroy Giap's positions. Within two days the French airstrip was no longer usable and the Vietminh were advancing. France appealed to the USA for help. However, the US refused to get directly involved without British support. Instead they agreed to a British proposal for a conference to discuss the Indochina problem.</p> <p>Meanwhile the battle of Dien Bien Phu continued in terrible monsoon conditions. The losses on both sides were significant. The French lost 1,142 men, 1,606 'disappeared' and 4,500 wounded. Vietnamese casualty figures are estimated at around 22,000. After a siege lasting 56 days Dien Bien Phu fell to the Vietnamese on 7 May 1954.</p>
<p>The Geneva Settlement 1954</p>	<p>By coincidence the scheduled conference on Indochina started on 8 May 1954. The USA, Russia, France and Britain all attended.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agreed to a Ceasefire • French troops to withdraw • Vietnam divided into North and South Vietnam at the 17th Parallel (demilitarized zone between the two). • Laos and Cambodia = independent states • National elections to be held in two years (by July 1956) throughout Indochina • No foreign bases • Freedom of movement between the North and South Vietnam for 300 days. <p>Consequences of the Geneva Agreement:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The idea of national elections did not happen. On 16th July 1956, Diem made the announcement not to call the election. • President Eisenhower did not respect the concept of no foreign bases and he sent American troops in to replace the French. • The option of freedom of movement led to an influx of refugees moving to the North and South. •

Containment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China had fallen to communism – 1949 • America fought in Korean War to contain the spread of communism • Keep the East contained to not fall for communism
Domino Theory	<p>President Eisenhower was convinced that China and the USSR were planning to spread Communism throughout Asia. He feared that the joint elections, scheduled to take place in June 1956 would lead to the election of Ho Chi Minh, whose popularity in the South had increased since Dien Bien Phu. Ho Chi Minh wanted a united communist Vietnam. This sparked off Eisenhower's belief in the 'Domino Theory. If Vietnam fell to Communism, then other Asian countries might also – like a row of dominoes e.g, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and the Burma and India.</p>
Diems unpopular Government	<p>Eisenhower was determined to maintain the government of South Vietnam. This meant Eisenhower committed America to supporting the president of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem. The problem was Diem's government was extremely unpopular. Diem was Catholic, whereas most Vietnamese were Buddhists. Diem packed his government full of Catholic landowners which persecuted and attacked the Buddhists. Diem ruled as a dictator, driven by his desire to hunt down and 're-educate' supporters of the Vietminh in prison camps. Those who resisted were executed. Eisenhower tried to moderate Diem and attempted to encourage Diem to carry out land reform and give land to the peasants. Diem had the opposite reaction, he forced the peasants to pay higher taxes and even sometimes made them work for nothing.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •
Ho Chi Minh's popularity	<p>In contrast Ho Chi Minh carried out land reform and was a very popular leader. His major aim was to reunite North and South Vietnam under Communist rule.</p> <p>In response to the Diem's terror campaign North Vietnam issued orders to the Vietminh to begin a terror campaign against South Vietnamese officials. In 1960 former members of the Vietminh in South Vietnam, with support from Ho Chi Minh set up the National Liberal Front (NLF) to oppose Diem. The Front began a Guerrilla campaign against the regime. The consequence of this was over the coming years on average 4000 officials a year were assassinated. Another tactic employed was utilising the Ho Chi Minh trail. The North Vietnamese and Vietcong moved troops and military supplies to the south along the Ho Chi Minh trail, which ran through the neighboring countries of Laos and Cambodia. This was difficult to track and meant that they could undermine the government in the</p>

	<p>South easily and then disappear back into the North again.</p> <p>To Diem and the USA all opposition was Communist and the opposition were given the label 'Vietcong,' a term of abuse that categorised all opponents as Vietnamese communists.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •
STRATEGIC HAMLET POLICY:	<p>The ARVN greatly outnumbered the Vietcong, but despite US aid were unable to defeat them. In 1962 USA developed a policy of creating strategic hamlets to provide greater security to the countryside. This involved moving peasants into fortified villages, guarded by troops. Nearly 3000 strategic hamlets were set up, but the forced movement of peasants from their land and family burial sites caused huge resentment. This was intensified due to mistreatment of the peasants at the hands of the Americans. This in turn only increased support for the Vietcong. All that happened was that communist supporters were moved to a new area where they could spread their ideas. As the situation worsened Kennedy agreed to send more military support including aircraft and intelligence equipment, as well as more advisors. Nevertheless, he would still not send troops.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •
Significance of Johnson stepping in post JFK assassination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who was advising Johnson – The Working Group – Defence department, State department, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). They told him: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ An independent, anti-communist South Vietnam was vital to America ○ That the Domino Theory was a real possibility and danger ○ That American '<i>national prestige</i>', credibility and honour were at stake ○ Increasing the war was needed as the weak South Vietnamese government were struggling • This was all well and good but Johnson needed to convince Congress (US Government) and the US public that there was a need for more intervention in Vietnam. (<i>Remember Johnson cannot raise the money to go to war without Congress approval</i>)
USA attacked	<p>On July 28, 1964 the United States ordered the Navy destroyer the USS Maddox to sail to the Gulf of Tonkin. The Maddox was to assist South Vietnamese commandos on raids in North Vietnam.</p> <p>The first couple of days nothing happened and then on August 2 the Maddox was attacked. Three North Vietnamese torpedo boats attacked the destroyer. The Maddox fought back sinking two and</p>

sending the other ship away crippled. The people of the United States wanted action for the attack on the Maddox. Then there was report of a second alleged attack, although Captain said he was unsure who had fired.

Due to the attacks Congress gave Johnson the **power to do additional military action to North Vietnam** for the future. The Tonkin Gulf Resolution was formed due to this. It was formed to "*Take all necessary measures to repel an armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.*" President Johnson and lawmakers hoped this would scare North Vietnam into accepting the separation of North and South Vietnam for good. Later they found out that the second attack never happened. They due to bad weather they read it wrong. This was not what Johnson had wanted.

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PRACTICE QUESTIONS:

8 Mark Explain Why (3 developed points.)

Explain why America withdrew from Vietnam

Explain why the war became increasingly unpopular in Vietnam

4 marker(a what happened/describe.)

6 mark explain why (2 developed points.)

10 marker (YES BUT SO.)

3 (a) Who were the Vietcong? [4]

(b) Explain why the USA became involved in Vietnam up to and including 1965. [6]

 (c) 'The most important reason for America's withdrawal from Vietnam was military failure.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10]

 Spelling, punctuation and grammar [6]

3 (a) What was the Tet Offensive? [4]

(b) Explain why the methods used by the Americans to try to defeat the Vietcong were unsuccessful. [6]

(c) The following were equally important reasons for America withdrawing from Vietnam:

(i) public opinion in America;

(ii) guerrilla warfare.

How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer, referring only to (i) and (ii). [10]

3 (a) What was the 'domino theory'? [4]

(b) Explain why the Vietnam War became unpopular in the USA. [6]

(c) 'The tactics of the USA were the main reason for its failure in the Vietnam War.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10]

THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Operation Rolling Thunder

In 1965 Johnson agreed to a large scale and continuous bombing in Vietnam. This was called **Operation Rolling Thunder**.

Why did he do it?

- In December 1964 the VC (wearing South Vietnamese army uniforms they bought on the black market) planted a bomb in a bar frequented by US officers.
- In February 1965 the National Liberation Front (NLF) or VC attacked a huge American camp near **Pleiku** and destroyed ten helicopters, eight Americans were killed and 100 were wounded. Johnson was furious and said '*I've had enough of this*'.

• **Operation Rolling Thunder** was given government approval and officially started on **March 2nd 1965** when 100 US and VNAF planes attacked an ammunition base at Xom Bang. The campaign was only supposed to last eight weeks but continued until October 1968 (3 years) The failure of Operation Thunder to undermine the government of Ho Chi Minh in its first few weeks led to a change of strategy. By the end of 1965, the bombing raids were used against the supply lines that the North used into the South as opposed to specific targets in the North itself.

One of the results of the opening phase of the operation was that Vietcong forces attacked US bases in South Vietnam. General Westmoreland told Washington that he could not defend the bases with just the 23,000 men that were under his command. Westmoreland claimed that unless received more troops, the Vietcong would overrun these air bases. As a result, President Johnson ordered the sending of 3,500 US Marines to South Vietnam – **the first official troops to be sent there**.

- 643,000 tons of bombs were dropped (3 times the number dropped in WW2)
- 900 US aircraft were lost.
- Estimated damage done to North Vietnam was \$300 million.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cost to the US of these raids was estimated at \$900 million.
<p>la Drang 1965</p>	<p>The Battle of la Drang was the first major battle between regulars of the United States Army and regulars of the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN / NVA) of North Vietnam during the Vietnam War. The two-battle took place between November 14 and November 18, 1965. In the 34 day battle 305 Americans and 3562 North Vietnamese died. Both sides thought they had won, that the other would not be able to sustain such losses. It was the North Vietnamese who were eventually proved right. In 1968, they started Operation Phoenix, arresting, interrogating and killing suspected Vietcong activists. Despite the Americans could not succeed in driving the Vietcong out of the rural areas.</p>
<p>Tet Offensive 1968</p>	<p>In September, 1967, the NLF (VC) launched a series of attacks on American garrisons. One of the most famous and bloody was at Khe Sanh (10,000 communists and 500 Americans died). General William Westmoreland, the commander of US troops in Vietnam, was delighted. Now at last the National Liberation Front was engaging in open combat. At the end of 1967, Westmoreland was able to report that the NLF had lost 90,000 men. He told President Lyndon B. Johnson that the NLF would be unable to replace such numbers and that the end of the war was in sight. However what the US did not know was that this tactic was actually a diversionary tactic to blind the Americans to the real target. Every year on the last day of January, the Vietnamese paid tribute to dead ancestors. In 1968, unknown to the Americans, the NLF celebrated the Tet New Year festival two days early. For on the evening of 31st January, 1968, 70,000 members of the NLF launched a surprise attack on more than a hundred cities and towns in Vietnam. It was now clear that the purpose of the attacks on the US garrisons in September had been to draw out troops from the cities.</p> <p>The NLF even attacked the US Embassy in Saigon. Although they managed to enter the Embassy grounds and kill five US marines, the NLF was unable to take the building. However, they had some success with Saigon's main radio station. They captured the building and although they only held it for a few hours, the event shocked the self-confidence of the American people. In recent months they had been told that the NLF was close to defeat and now they were strong enough to take important buildings in the capital of South Vietnam. Another disturbing factor was that even with the large losses of 1967, the NLF could still send 70,000 men into battle.</p> <p>The Tet Offensive proved to be a turning point in the war. In military terms it was a victory for the</p>

	<p>forces. An estimated 37,000 NLF soldiers were killed compared to 2,500 Americans. However, it illustrated that the NLF appeared to have inexhaustible supplies of men and women willing to fight for overthrow of the South Vietnamese government. In March, 1968, President Johnson was told by Secretary of Defence (Robert McNamara) that in his opinion the US could not win the Vietnam War recommended a negotiated withdrawal. Later that month, President Johnson told the American people on national television that he was reducing the air-raids on North Vietnam and intended to a negotiated peace.</p>
<p>Vietcong's tactics</p>	<p>The Viet Cong were a guerrilla branch of the North Vietnamese army (NLF). They used a range of tactics to beat the Americans. The tactics were not high-tech: they relied on knowing the landscape and having the backing of the ordinary folk. They fought a guerrilla war, ambushing US patrols, setting booby traps and landmines, and planting bombs in towns. They mingled in with the peasants, wearing ordinary clothes. The Americans couldn't identify who the enemy was. They were supplied with rockets and weapons by China and Russia. Their tactic was "hanging onto the belts" of the Americans - staying so close to the Americans so they could not use air or artillery backup without killing their own men.</p> <p>Booby traps are an example of a Viet Cong tactic. For example, the Viet Cong would place trip wires or dig holes filled with spikes, sometimes coated in human excrement, and then would cover the hole with leaves to deceive the enemy. Markers like broken sticks would be left on the path to warn fellow Viet Cong about the locations.</p> <p>Tunnels were used by Viet Cong guerrillas as hiding spots during combat, as well as serving as communication and supply routes, hospitals, food and weapon caches and living quarters for numerous guerrilla fighters. This frustrated Americans who could not locate the tunnels.</p> <p>The Ho Chi Minh Trail was a network of paths that served as hidden route through the jungle, not only of Vietnam but neighbouring Laos and Cambodia as well, for Viet Cong soldiers and Vietnamese Civilians. The Viet Cong used it to move troops, weapons and other supplies into and around the country without being detected by the Americans. The Americans constantly tried to find the trail, but it was too well hidden and frequently changed. It was essential in allowing the</p>

	<p>North Vietnamese to beat the Americans. The Americans couldn't attack their supply routes without escalating the war in to Laos and Cambodia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">•
American tactics	<p>America had superior resources and technology, so they were fighting a hi-tec war. The main problem for the US was that their guerrilla enemy, the Viet Cong, hid out among the thick, dense forest, and stayed in villages among the ordinary folk.</p> <p>In the attempt to find the Viet Cong fighters, the US launched an operation called Search and Destroy: they searched Vietnamese villages for Viet Cong fighters and, if they suspected there were any there, destroyed the village. This often led to deaths of innocent civilians including women and children. The missions made ordinary people hate the Americans: as one marine said of a search and destroy mission – <i>"If they weren't Viet Cong before we got there, they sure as hell were by the time we left"</i>. The Viet Cong often helped the villager's re-build their homes and bury their dead.</p> <p>When the Americans suspected that they had found a Viet Cong base, they would drop Napalm on the site. Napalm was a very flammable fluid that would burn through almost anything. It often hit civilians. It could not be washed off with water and could burn through clothes and skin down to the bone.</p> <p>The Americans attempted to force the Vietnamese to surrender through Operation Rolling Thunder. (See last lessons notes) These were bombing raids on Vietnamese towns, intended to destroy morale.</p> <p>The thick forest was a real problem for the Americans, because this was how the Viet Cong hid. Determined to find the Viet Cong bases and supply routes, the Americans sprayed a chemical called Agent Orange onto the forests from aeroplanes. It killed the trees, so that the Americans could find their enemy. But the chemical caused much more harm than this. It killed crops, causing people to go hungry. It also caused birth defects in children borne to people who were exposed to the chemical.</p>

Ma Lai Massacre:

The My Lai massacre is probably one of the most infamous events of the Vietnam War. The My Lai massacre took place on March 16th 1968.

My Lai was a village of about 700 inhabitants some 100 miles to the southeast of the US base of Danang. The US Platoon was commanded by Lieutenant William Calley and was ordered to My Lai village. They were part of Task Force Barker – the codename for a **search and destroy** mission. They had been told to expect to find members of the VC in the vicinity as the village was in an area where the NLF had been very active.

When the troops from 1 Platoon moved through the village they started to fire at the villagers. They were women, children and the elderly as the young men had gone to the paddy fields to work. Sergeant Michael Bernhardt, who was at My Lai, was quoted in 1973 as stating that he saw no one who could have been considered to be of military age. He also stated that the US troops in My Lai met no resistance. An **army photographer**, Ronald Haeberle, witnessed a US soldier shoot two young boys whom he believed were no more than five years of age. **Other photos** taken at the scene of the massacre show bodies of what can only be very young children. Those who returned to the village claimed that it took three days to bury the bodies. They were later to report that some of the children had their throats cut and that some of the bodies had not just been shot but had also been mutilated.

What happened at My Lai only came to public light in **November 1969** when a US soldier, Paul Meadlo, was interviewed on television and admitted killing "*ten of fifteen men, women and children*" at My Lai. His admission caused much shock and a great deal of pressure was put on the US military to launch an investigation. In fact, the US military was already aware of the allegations and had launched an investigation in April 1969, some six months before the public was made aware of what had gone on. It soon became clear that many hundreds of villagers had been killed.

The actual number killed was never established but it was officially put as no less than 175 while it could have been as high as 504. The two most common figures put on casualties are 347 and 504. A memorial at My Lai itself lists 504 names with ages that range from one to eighty-two years. An official

army investigation came out with the figure of 347.

Seymour Hersh, a journalist who was one of the first men to report the massacre to the public believed that Calley was "as much a victim as the people he shot." Calley himself commented about reactions of his men in 1 Platoon at My Lai:

"When my troops were getting massacred and mauled by an enemy I couldn't see, an enemy I couldn't feel, I couldn't touch.....nobody in the military system ever described them anything other than Communist."

Why did the soldiers in My Lai react as they did?

After three years in Vietnam, the US Army knew that anyone could be a NLF fighter or sympathiser regardless of age or gender. Invariably everyone in the villages of South Vietnam wore the same clothing, so no one could be sure who was who in terms of the enemy. All US soldiers knew that any patrol they were sent on could be their last or that they might suffer horrendous injuries as a result of NLF booby traps that littered South Vietnam.

The stress of simply doing what they had to do may well have become too much for the troops who were in My Lai on March 16th 1968. In their first few weeks in Vietnam the men in 'Charlie Company' had not experienced many problems with regards to fighting. However, after this settling period had ended, they, along with thousands of other US troops, began to experience life as a fighting soldier in South Vietnam. Within days of going on patrol, 'Charlie Company' had lost five men killed to booby traps and in the lead up to the massacre at My Lai others had been wounded by these unorthodox weapons.

One soldier who was at My Lai, Varnado Simpson, stated in December 1969:

"Everyone who went into the village had in mind to kill. We had lost a lot of buddies and it was a strong hold. We considered them either VC or helping the VC."

	<p>Philip Caputo, a US Marine, also accused of murdering innocent Vietnamese civilians, wrote later that it was the nature of the war being fought in Vietnam that was to blame for so many civilians being killed.</p> <p>“In a guerrilla war, the line between legitimate and illegitimate killing is blurred. The policies of free zones, in which a soldier is permitted to shoot at any human target, armed or unarmed, further confuse the fighting man’s moral senses.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •
American soldiers	<p>Drug problems among soldiers who did not want to be there and by 1971 5,000 men were treated for combat wounds and 20,000 for drug abuse.</p> <p>Draft system meant they had 2.8 million who could serve to call upon.</p> <p>Troops did not believe they were fighting for democracy and were only aiming to get out as soon as possible.</p> <p>The amount of dead and wounded from booby traps really hurt soldiers' morale.</p> <p>The public did not support what they were doing and this hurt the soldiers morale.</p> <p>Between 1966 and 1973 there were 503,000 cases of desertion.</p> <p>Hostility between officers and men. With officers being professional soldiers and the soldiers being young and on one year tours of duty.</p> <p>Force was inexperienced with little knowledge of guerrilla warfare.</p> <p>Not full combat troops but men who had been drafted in and who had no skill or desire to fight</p>
VC soldiers	<p>Fighting for causes they really believed in e.g. unification and independence. Many welcomed the chance to fight for liberation.</p> <p>They won the support of the peasants who were unhappy with the government and the 'search and destroy' tactics being used against them.</p> <p>Almost unlimited economic resources.</p> <p>They were prepared to accept a very heavy body count and between 500,000 and 900,000 died during the war.</p> <p>They knew the terrain and were skilled in guerrilla and jungle warfare.</p>

	<p>Did not have good air power or much money.</p>
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They were supplied by the USSR and China. The USSR provided 8,000 anti-aircraft guns and 200 anti-aircraft missile sites. Total assistance is estimated at \$2 billion between 1965 and 1968.

Their bases were very well hidden and surrounded by booby traps

How successful was the Weimar Government?

Below is a list of problems faced by the Weimar Republic in the period 1919-1924. Your task is to identify what kind of problems the Republic faced by colour-coding each issue to show if they were economic, social, political, or a combination of these. Give each problem a mark out of ten as to how serious you think it is.

Types of problems

Economic: to do with money and business

Social: to do with people

Political: to do with the government and running the country

The problems

PROBLEM 1 – SUFFERING

The people had suffered terribly because of war. All of the country's resources had been poured into the war effort. During World War One the British blockaded German ports which produced serious food shortages in Germany

PROBLEM 2 – THE 'STAB IN THE BACK' THEORY

This is the idea that the politicians who had signed the armistice to end the war, and later the Treaty of Versailles, had stabbed the nation in the back. People who believed this thought that Germany had not really lost the war and that the politicians were cowards. Those who signed the armistice were sometimes called the 'November Criminals'. Germany was further humiliated by the war guilt clause of the Treaty of Versailles. This blamed Germany and her allies for starting the war.

PROBLEM 4 – REPARATIONS

Germany had to pay reparations of 132 billion marks, which is roughly the equivalent to £284 billion in today's money, to the countries damaged by the First World War.

PROBLEM 5 – LOSS OF RESOURCES

The Treaty of Versailles took areas of land containing valuable resources from Germany. For example, Germany lost Alsace-Lorraine containing iron ore and Upper Silesia which had coal.

PROBLEM 6 – CHANGING BORDERS

Because of the Treaty of Versailles, many Germans were now living outside the borders of Germany in places like the Sudetenland, Poland and Austria. They felt that their rights were not recognised properly.

PROBLEM 7 – INEFFECTIVE CONSTITUTION

The new constitution which created the Weimar Republic was very democratic. There was a new Bill of Rights which guaranteed every German citizen freedom of speech and religion, and equality under the law. All men and women over the age of 20 were given the vote. There was an elected president and an elected Reichstag (parliament).

However, there existed major problems:

Proportional representation - Each party was allocated seats in the Reichstag exactly reflecting (proportional to) the number of people who had voted for it. This was a disaster it resulted in dozens of tiny parties, with no party strong enough to get a majority, and, therefore, no government to get its laws passed in the Reichstag. This was a major weakness of the Republic. PR also allows parties with more extreme views to enter parliament.

Article 48 - this said that, in an emergency, the president did not need the agreement of the Reichstag, but could issue decrees. The problem with this was that it did not say what an emergency was, and in the end, it turned out to be a back door that Hitler used to take power legally.

The German **states** had too much power and often ignored the government, further highlighting its ineffectiveness.

The Army, led by the right-wing General Hans von Seeckt, was not fully under the government's control. It failed to support government during the Kapp Putsch or the crisis of 1923.

Many government officials – especially **judges** – were right-wing and wanted to destroy the government. Therefore, the rulings they made went in favour of the extreme right wing revolutionaries, for example after the Munich Putsch, Hitler went to prison for only 9 months.

PROBLEM 8 – REBELLIONS AND TERRORISM

The Weimar Republic was created at a time of confusion and chaos after Germany had lost the First World War. Many people felt that Germany had received a very harsh deal in the **Treaty of Versailles** and they resented the government for signing it and agreeing to its conditions. Extremist groups, who were discontent with the Republic, tried to seize power by force, e.g. the Spartacist Rebellion of 1919, the Kapp Putsch of 1920, and the Munich Putsch of 1923.

Many of the people in Germany were communists, who wanted to bring in a Russian-style communist government. There were a number of communist uprisings. For instance, in 1919 the Spartacists rebelled in Berlin.

Left-wing Rebellions

- The Communist KPD hated the new government:
- In Jan 1919, 50,000 Spartacists rebelled in Berlin, led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Leibknecht.
- In 1919, Communist Workers' Councils seized power all over Germany, and a Communist 'People's Government' took power in Bavaria.
- In 1920, after the failure of the Kapp Putsch, a paramilitary group called the Red Army rebelled in the Ruhr.

Right-wing terrorism

- Many right-wing groups hated the new government for signing the Versailles Treaty (June 1919):
- The **Kapp Putsch**: in March 1920, a Freikorps brigade rebelled against the Treaty, led by Dr Wolfgang Kapp. It took over Berlin and tried to bring back the Kaiser.
- Nationalist terrorist groups murdered 356 politicians. In August 1921 Matthias **Erzberger**, the man who signed the armistice (and therefore a 'November criminal'), was shot.

PROBLEM 9 – THE MUNICH PUTSCH

In 1923 the problems surrounding the Weimar government seemed to climax with the Munich Putsch. The event signalled Hitler's attempt to exploit the crisis of 1923. The Nazi Party had significantly grown in

popularity, membership had risen from 6,000 to 55,000 and the Nazi Stormtroopers (SA) demanded a revolution.

On the night of 8 Nov 1923 Hitler took over the Munich Beer Hall .A triumphal march into Munich was planned on 9 Nov, but the police easily dispersed the Nazis. Although the Putsch failed, the trial that followed turned Hitler into a national hero, providing him with an invaluable publicity opportunity and laid the foundation of his future success. While he was in prison, Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf*, in which he set out his life-story and beliefs. The book sold in millions, and made Hitler the leader of the right-wing opponents of Weimar. While in prison Hitler realised he could not gain power illegally through rebellion, this thought process led him to formulate a new strategy to enable him to gain power through election.

PROBLEM 10 – RUHR INVASION

In 1921 Allies fixed reparations at £6600million – because the allies had taken much of Germany's coal and steel and raw materials Germany's economy remained weak and in 1922 they failed to make a reparations payment

11th Jan 1923 The French and Belgium's responded by occupying the Ruhr the centre of Germany's coal, iron and steel production. This had a knock on effect of damaging other industries actually making the situation much worse for Germany.

The French were only concerned with getting the money they were owed. The German government ordered a policy of passive resistance and German workers went on strike – production fell and France and Britain could not take the goods they wanted.

Many countries felt sympathy towards Germany and eventually the French negotiated and withdrew . In September 1923, the German Chancellor, Stresemann, called off the general strike in the Ruhr (it was ruining Germany). This made EVERY German angry with the government.

PROBLEM 11 – HYPERINFLATION

During WW1 German government paid its bills by printing more banknotes, it meant that prices rose so workers demanded more wages forming a cycle. This is known as inflation

In 1923 after the invasion of the Ruhr the German government had to pay the workers and meet other bills so they simply printed more money. This led to hyperinflation. German banknotes were even used as wallpaper.

People had to shop with wheel barrows full of money. Bartering became common

Hardest hit were the elderly who had saved carefully for their old age and suddenly their savings wouldn't even buy them food. Hunger was a common problem.

The very rich suffered least because they had sufficient contacts to get food etc.

The group that suffered a great deal - proportional to their income - was the middle class. Their hard earned savings disappeared overnight. They did not have the wealth or land to fall back on as the rich had. It is not surprising that many of those middle class who suffered in 1923, were to turn to Hitler and the Nazi Party.

CONSOLIDATION

- Were the problems faced by the Weimar Republic in 1919-1924 mainly economic, social or political?
- What do you think was the biggest problem faced by the Weimar Republic at this time?

**HOW DID WEIMAR CREEP BACK FROM THE BRINK OF COLLAPSE??
HOW FAR DID WEIMAR ACTUALLY RECOVER FROM 1923-1929**

Gustav Stresemann and Charles Dawes

- In 1923, the Weimar Republic was on the verge of collapse, but, surprisingly, the crisis was the start of a period of stability and success. The period 1923-1929 was a time when the economy boomed and cultural life flourished in Germany.

Gustav Stresemann

- In 1923 he was to organise the Great Coalition of moderate, pro-democracy parties in the Reichstag. At last, Germany had a government that could make laws and assert authority. Under Stresemann's guidance, the government called off the strike, persuaded the French to leave the Ruhr and even got the rest of the world to allow Germany to join the League of Nations in 1926.
- Stresemann also introduced reforms to help ordinary people such as job centres, unemployment pay and better housing.

Charles Dawes

- Charles Dawes was the US budget director. In 1923, he was sent to Europe to sort out Germany's economy. Under his advice, the German Reichsbank was reformed and the old money was called in and burned. This ended the hyperinflation. Dawes also arranged the Dawes Plan with Stresemann, which gave Germany longer to pay reparations. Most importantly, Dawes agreed to America lending Germany 800 million gold marks, which kick-started the German economy.

Stresemann's Achievements (DIFFERS)

<u>D</u>	Dawes Plan, 1924: Stresemann called off the 1923 Ruhr strike and started to pay reparations again – but the American Dawes Plan gave Germany longer to make the payments (and the Young Plan of 1929 reduced the payments).
<u>I</u>	Inflation controlled, November 1923: Stresemann called in all the old, worthless marks and burned them. He replaced them with a new Rentenmark (worth 3,000 million old marks).
<u>F</u>	French leave the Ruhr, April 1924: Stresemann persuaded the French to leave.
<u>F</u>	Foreign Affairs: In 1925, Stresemann signed the Locarno Treaty, agreeing to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. In 1926, Germany was allowed to join the League of Nations. Germany had become a world power again. Stresemann was able to negotiate the Young Plan which further reduced Reparation payments and led to the final removal of French, British and Belgian troops from the Ruhr.
<u>E</u>	Economic Growth: Germany borrowed 25,000 million gold marks, mainly from America. This was used to build roads, railways and factories. The economy boomed and led to prosperity. Cultural life also boomed (the Roaring Twenties).
<u>R</u>	Reforms: Stresemann introduced reforms to make life better for the working classes - Labour Exchanges (1927) and unemployment pay. Also, 3 million new houses were built.
<u>S</u>	Strength at the Centre Stresemann arranged a 'Great Coalition' of the moderate pro-democracy parties (based around the SDP, the Centre party and Stresemann's own 'German people's Party', the DVP). United together, they were able to resist the criticism from smaller extremist parties, and in this way, he overcame the effects of proportional representation - the government had enough members of the Reichstag supporting it to pass the laws it needed.

Weimar Germany Culture – Decadent or Flourishing?

The 'Roaring twenties'

- The 1920s became in Germany a time of real cultural creativity, with developments in Architecture, Art, Books, Films and Cabaret. Under the Kaiser there had been tight censorship laws, however now Germany, especially its bigger cities, embraced the free expression of ideas. However, for many in the towns and villages, this freedom of expression represented a moral decline. Organisations such as the Wandervogel movement demanded a return to simple country values. It was this powerful feeling which the Nazis were able to successfully capitalise on in later years.
- Famous names of this period include:
 - the Bauhaus school of architecture, founded by Walter Gropius.
 - the artist Paul Klee.
 - the singer and film star Marlene Dietrich
 - the artist Otto Dix (famous for his harsh paintings of World War One trenches).
 - the novelist Erich Maria Remarque, who wrote the anti-war novel *All Quiet on the Western Front*.

Weimar culture

- You **must** know the names of the following leaders of the German cultural flowering of the 1920s:
- **singer/actress** Marlene Dietrich
- **architect** Gropius the leader of the *Bauhaus* movement
- **artists** Paul Klee and Otto Dix
- **writer** Erich Maria Remarque who wrote '*All Quiet on the Western Front*'
- **film-maker** Fritz Lang

Weakness of the Republic

- Many historians believe that the strength and success of the Weimar republic was largely an illusion:
 1. It **depended on economic success** and prosperity, and this in turn was wholly based on American loans. If anything happened to undermine the American economy, the Weimar Republic would be in great danger.
 2. As soon as economic prosperity returned, the **Great Coalition** organised by Stresemann collapsed, and the moderate pro-democracy parties began to argue among themselves again. Thus they would not be strong enough to resist a challenge from extremist parties if ever there was one.
 3. **Extremist politicians were not won over by the good times.** Right-wing nationalists still hated the Republic as the 'November criminals' - they just waited for a situation to arise which would give them the opportunity to attack the Weimar government. In this way, the Wall Street collapse of 1929 was to prove a disaster for the Weimar republic.

CONSOLIDATION: 10 MARKER

1) To what extent had the Weimar Republic recovered in the years 1923-1929?
Explain your answer (10)

Structure

- **Introduction** – in this actually answer the question e.g. agree or disagree and your counter arguments
-

- **Paragraph one (YES)** – the arguments for – don't just state or dump information, use the information to EXPLAIN.
- **Paragraph two (BUT)** – the arguments against.
- *Note each paragraph should make more than one point and make links between points*
- **Conclusion (SO)** – here you should sum up your arguments and explain your answer e.g. what has led you to think conclusion.

FOR/AGREE/SUPPORT/YES	AGAINST/DISAGREE/OPOSE/BUT
<p>Given the problems which faced the Weimar Government, such as the invasion of the Ruhr and hyperinflation in 1923, being plagued by uprisings such as the Munich Putsch in 1923 and Spartacist Rebellion of 1919 and suffering from the loss of resources, such as Alsace Lorraine, imposed on them after the Treaty of Versailles, one could argue that despite their challenges Germany did achieve a lot.</p> <p>Hyperinflation was ended and confidence returned with the introduction of a new currency and reduction in government spending. Between 1924 and 1929 Germany received over 25 billion marks in loans from the USA under the Dawes Plan. This was further helped by the negotiation by Stressemann of the Young Plan in 1929 which helped to reduce the reparation payments and removed French, British and Belgian troops from the Ruhr. In addition to this, Stressemann was also key in signing the Locarno Treaty in 1925 which signalled Germany being accepted again into the international community. This was consolidated by them joining the League of Nations. These events introduced a period of stability to Germany, not seen since before the war. German industry was rebuilt, thus raising the standard of living and causing the economy to boom. This 'boom' led to what is termed the 'roaring twenties' where Weimar culture flourished and German people felt a sense of patriotism once again. Ultimately, given the problems the Weimar Government overcame, seemingly against the odds, arguably they achieved everything they could in the years 1923-1929.</p>	<p>However, the success of the Weimar Republic was largely an illusion, masking deeper problems. It depended on economic success and prosperity, and this in turn was wholly based on American loans. If anything happened to undermine the American economy, the Weimar Republic would be in great danger. This was proved in 1929 with the Wall Street Crash.</p> <p>In addition, the allure of the 'roaring twenties' was mainly centred in the cities. Some argued that the new ideas of culture and art were unpatriotic and they wanted to celebrate traditional values. They argued this new phase meant that Germany was going into moral decline. This feeling was taken advantage of by right wing nationalists, who still targeted the government as 'November Criminals.' The inherent weaknesses in the Weimar Constitution, such as the use of PR and the existence of article 48, highlighted the ineffective nature of the Weimar Government and gave extremist parties an opportunity to take power. In addition, this situation was further worsened by the fact that the army, the main law enforcement power, was against the government and looking for any opportunity to bring them down. The government was much less secure than appearances would suggest.</p>

CONCLUSION/SO

Subsequently, although the Weimar government appeared to have recovered from the problems which plagued it pre 1923 and this in itself must be recognised as an achievement and evidence of a partial recovery, the problems which lay underneath the surface masked much more serious issues. These problems became a reality and uprooted the Weimar Republic. Therefore, this proves that the Weimar Republic had not completely recovered by 1929.

Your turn:

The Weimar Republic was a failure in the years after 1923.' How far do you agree with this statement.

FOR/AGREE/SUPPORT/YES	AGAINST/DISAGREE/OPPOSE/BUT

CONCLUSION/SO

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HITLERS RISE TO POWER

Weakness of the Weimar Republic:

- The vilification of the government as the November Criminals continued even into the 1930s, when Hitler referred to the government as the November Criminals in his election speeches.
- The weakness of the Reichstag governments because of proportional representation continued right to the very end, and lay behind the Hindenburg/Papen deal with Hitler in January 1933.
- Hitler used Article 48 to destroy the Republic after January 1933.

Hindenberg and von Papen

- The Republic lasted 13 years - the world in 1933 was very different to 1919, so there was no simplistic cause-and-effect.
- The Republic was very successful during the period 1923-1929. When the pro-democracy parties organised themselves properly, the Republic could be very strong. The Republic would have survived if Hindenburg and Papen hadn't made Hitler chancellor; the Nazis had not done as well in the November 1932 elections as they had in July 1932, and some historians believe that their appeal was beginning to wane.
- The historian AJP Taylor said that there was nothing wrong with the Weimar Republic per se: he blamed the stupid men who lacked the will to maintain democracy the politicians of the Centre and Social Democratic parties, and particularly Hindenburg and Papen for Hitler's rise to power.

Back Door Deals

- After the elections in July 1932 the Nazis were the largest single party but they did not have a majority.
- Hitler demanded the post of Chancellor from the President (war hero) Hindenburg. Hindenburg was very suspicious of Hitler and refused. Instead he allowed his old friend Von Papen to continue as Chancellor
- Hindenburg used his emergency powers to make the changes that Von Papen hoped would solve the unemployment problem.
- Von Papen was soon in trouble – he had almost no support in the Reichstag so called another election in November 1932.
- The Nazis gained the most again but this time their number dropped. Hitler regarded the election as a disaster for the Nazis he lost 2 million votes, 38 seats in the Reichstag and the party was starting to run out of funds.
- Hindenburg once again refused to allow Hitler to become Chancellor.
- In December he chose Kurt Von Schleicher one of his own advisors and a bitter opponent of Von Papen. Von Papen remained an adviser to Hindenburg.
- Within a month Von Schleicher was forced to resign.
- It was clear the Weimar system of government was not working made worse by the fact that Hindenburg continually used the emergency powers
- Through January 1933 Hindenburg and Von Papen met secretly with industrialists, army leaders and politicians.
- 30th January they offered Hitler the post of Chancellor – Why? They were confident they could limit his influence and resist his extremist demands.
- Hitler became Chancellor through a back door deal and not because of the will of the German people.
- When he came to power he was in a very precarious position and few thought he would last any longer than the previous two Chancellors

Nazi Policies:

- Hitler's speeches gave people scapegoats to blame for Germany's problems:
-

- The Allies.
- The Versailles Treaty and the ‘November Criminals’ (the politicians who signed it).
- The Communists
- The Jews.

Twenty-five Point Programme

- In 1920, the party renamed itself the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (Nazis), and announced its Twenty-Five Point Programme.
- At first, the Nazis were both nationalist (they believed in Germany’s greatness) and socialist (they believed the state should benefit everybody equally).

Mein Kampf

- After the failure of the Munich Putsch in 1923, Hitler was sent to Landsberg jail. There he wrote *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle) advocating:
 - National Socialism – loyalty to Germany, racial purity, equality and state control of the economy.
 - Racism – the triumph of the Aryan race by armed force, because all races, especially the Jews, were inferior to the Aryan (pure German) ‘Master Race’.
 - Lebensraum – to expand into Poland and Russia to get ‘Living Space’.
 - Strong Government – complete obedience to the Führer.

Organisation

At first, there were a number of people involved in running the party, but Hitler soon became the sole boss, and he built up the organisation so that he was unquestioned leader.

Re-organising the Party

- After the failure of the Munich Putsch Hitler realized he would have to reorganize his party, once he realized the only way to gain power was through legal means. He put in place many of the things which helped it take power after 1928:
- He reduced the number of Stormtroopers (SA) and set up the SS, a personal bodyguard fanatically loyal to himself.
- He set up a network of local parties to spread the message of national socialism at grassroots level. He merged with other right-wing parties and then took them over.
- He set up the Hitler Youth, which attracted young people to the party.
- He put Josef Goebbels in charge of propaganda. Goebbels and Hitler believed that the best way to get the support of the masses was by appealing to their feelings rather than by argument. They waged a propaganda campaign using posters, leaflets, radio and film, and organised rallies.
- He cultivated the support of wealthy businessmen promising them that, if he came to power, he would destroy Communism and the Trade Unions. This gave him the finance to run his campaigns.

Propaganda

Nazi propaganda persuaded the German masses to believe that the Jews were to blame and that Hitler was their last hope. This was based on the idea of negative cohesion- working on people’s fears.

Date of Election	Jan 1919	Jun 1920	May 1924	Dec 1924	May 1928	Sep 1930	Jul 1932	Nov 1932	Mar 1933
SPD Social Democrats	165	102	100	131	153	143	133	121	120
Communists KPD/USPD	22	88	62	45	54	77	89	101	81
Centre Party (Catholics)	91	64	65	69	62	68	75	70	74
DDP (Democrats)	75	39	28	32	25	20	4	2	5
Right-wing parties (BVP/DVP/DNVP)	63	157	156	174	134	90	66	83	72
NSDAP (Nazis)	X	X	32	14	12	107	230	196	288
Others	7	9	29	29	51	72	11	12	7

Total Deputies	423	459	472	493	491	577	608	584	647
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CONSOLIDATION OF POWER

1) Highlight every piece of evidence which shows how Hitler consolidated his power.

The Reichstag Fire

- On 27th February, 1933, the Reichstag (Parliament Building) caught fire. When the police arrived they found a Dutch man **Marinus van der Lubbe** on the premises. After being tortured by the Gestapo (Prussian secret police run by Herman Goering).
- Van der Lubbe confessed to starting the Reichstag Fire. However he denied that he was part of a Communist conspiracy. Hermann Goering refused to believe him and he ordered the arrest of several leaders of the German Communist Party (KPD).
- When Hitler heard the news about the fire he gave orders that all leaders of the German Communist Party should "be hanged that very night."
- Paul von Hindenburg vetoed this decision but did agree that Hitler should take "dictatorial powers". Hitler persuaded the President to pass an emergency decree suspending all parts of the Constitution that:
 - Guaranteed personal liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly.
 - This allowed the police to search houses, confiscate property and detain people without trial. The police could also ban meetings, close newspapers and round up political opponents and send them to concentration camps and detention centres.
- KPD candidates in the election were arrested and Hermann Goering announced that the Nazi Party planned "to exterminate" German communists.
- As well as Marinus van der Lubbe the German police charged four communists with setting fire to the Reichstag. This included Ernst Torgler, the chairman of the KPD and Georgi Dimitrov of the Soviet Comintern.
- Marinus van der Lubbe was found guilty of the Reichstag Fire and was executed on 10th January, 1934. Adolf Hitler was furious that the rest of the defendants were acquitted and he decided that in future all treason cases were taken from the Court and given to a new People's Court, where prisoners were judged by members of the Nazi Party.
- There have been many theories about how the fire really started historians have argued the following:
 - Work of a madman
 - Communists
 - The Nazis

The Enabling Act

- After the 1933 General Election Hitler proposed an Enabling Bill that would give him dictatorial powers. Such an act needed three-quarters of the members of the Reichstag to vote in its favour.
- All the active members of the Communist Party, were in concentration camps, in hiding, or had left the country (an estimated 60,000 people left Germany during the first few weeks after the election). This was also true of most of the leaders of the other left-wing party, Social Democrat Party (SDP).
- However, Hitler still needed the support of the Catholic Centre Party (BVP) to pass this legislation. Hitler therefore offered the BVP a deal: vote for the bill and the Nazi government would guarantee the rights of the Catholic Church. The BVP agreed and when the vote was taken, only 94 members of the SDP voted against the Enabling Bill.
- On 23rd March, 1933, the German Reichstag passed the Enabling Bill.
 - Banned the German Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party from taking part in future election campaigns.
 - The SA were allowed to search and ransack the homes of suspected opponents. Many opponents left Germany altogether
 - This was followed by Nazi officials being put in charge of all local government in the provinces (7th April)
 - Trades unions (*An organization whose membership consists of workers and union leaders, united to protect and promote their common interests*) abolished and their funds taken and their leaders put in prison (2nd May)
 - a law passed making the Nazi Party the only legal political party in Germany (14th July).
- It was not only left-wing politicians and trade union activists who were sent to concentration camp. The Gestapo also began arresting beggars, prostitutes, homosexuals, alcoholics and anyone who was incapable of working. Although some inmates were tortured, the only people killed during this period were prisoners who tried to escape and those classed as "incurably insane".